

# young socialist

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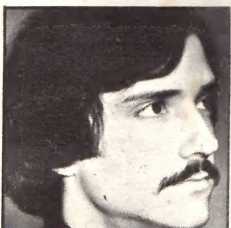
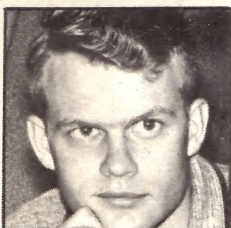
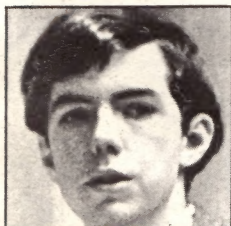
## THE BROWN UNIVERSITY And Chicano Liberation

Randy Furst on the Young Socialist Convention;  
Northern Ireland; How to Make a Woman

**SPECIAL FINAL ISSUE**



□ As we go to press the NATIONAL STUDENT ANTIWAR CONFERENCE held in Cleveland Feb. 14-15 by the Student Mobilization Committee has just concluded. More than 4,000 young antiwar activists attended to call and plan mass antiwar actions for the week of April 13-18. This was truly a historic gathering and its implications will become clearer in the coming weeks. It was broader and larger than any other such conference during the new radicalization of the past decade. And it was also the most democratic. The SMC reaffirmed its commitment to mass actions, and Young Socialists will again be involved in building the big demonstrations slated for cities and campuses around the country on April 15. □ Also signaling promise for the 70s was the successful YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION held in Minneapolis at the end of December. Two new YSAers who joined after the convention, RANDY FURST and NICK GRUENBERG, give their impressions of the conference along with some photos of the meeting. □ The delay in this final issue was unavoidable and we apologize to our readers for it. YS Editor NELSON BLACKSTOCK (top left) explains the decision to discontinue the YS in the lead article. Readers with current subscriptions will receive a letter explaining what will happen to their subs in relation to the new YS ORGANIZER and the new magazine. □ The spring subscription drive for the MILITANT began at the SMC Conference where 400 new subs were sold. The YSA is working along with the SWP to sell 7,500 subscriptions by April 15. □ This issue's cover story concerns the Chicano Studies Dept. at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif. The Chicano liberation struggle will be a central part of the dynamic of radicalization in the 70s, kicking off the decade with a national conference called by the Crusade for Justice in Denver for March (see ad, back cover). □ The YS Interview this time concerns the struggle in Northern Ireland. □ CARL FRANK (top right), New York YSA Organizer and YS editorial board member, replies to a letter we received from a New Jersey high school student after the Nov. 15 mass antiwar actions. □ Editorial board member LEE SMITH (bottom left) reviews 50 YEARS OF WORLD REVOLUTION. □ Berkeley YSAer ALAN WALD offers some ideas about Marxism and esthetics. □ KARL BERMAN (bottom middle), New York YSAer, writes about a new women's liberation play. □ DAVID THORSTAD (bottom right) does the film review. □ Several YSAers are now in Cuba with the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, a group of Americans helping the Cubans harvest 10 million tons of sugar this year. The first contingent has recently returned after a successful demonstration of internationalist solidarity. □ Just before the magazine went to press, we heard that Vincent Raymond Dunne, a founding leader of American Communism, had died in Minneapolis. An obituary and tribute appear in the section on the Young Socialist Convention.



## young socialist

Vol. 13, No. 1 (103)

January 1970

THE MAGAZINE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, A MULTINATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZATION.

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Subscription Price: \$2.00 per year in U.S. and Canada. Write for foreign rates. Bundle rate: 20 cents per issue (15 cents for newsstands). The Young Socialist is published monthly, except during July and August, when bimonthly. P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Phone 989-7570. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Young Socialist.

Second class postage paid at New York, New York.



### Distributors of the Young Socialist:

Young Socialists, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes  
334 Queen St. W.  
Toronto 2b, Ontario  
Canada

Pioneer Books  
8 Toynbee Street  
London E1, England

**Red Spark**  
Socialist Club Box  
SUB, Victoria University  
P.O. Box 196  
Wellington, New Zealand

People's Book Centre  
Pratap Road  
Baroda Gujarat, India

## Contents

STORY OF YS	3
CHICANO STUDIES	7
NORTH IRELAND	11
CONVENTION	16
LETTER AND REPLY	23
MARXISM AND ART	26
BOOKS	28
FILM	29
THEATER	30




Young  
**Socialist**  
voice of american radical youth

**voice of american radical youth**

OCTOBER, 1957

TEN CENTS



A black and white photograph showing a large crowd of people, mostly young adults, walking in a parade. They are carrying flags, including the American flag, and banners. The scene is outdoors with a large building in the background.

U.S. delegation enters shadowed hallway for the opening ceremony of the Moscow Youth Festival for 1958 in the Soviet Union and on the lower balcony and knowledge of Moscow's Communist Youth on the article by Martin Poller on page 10.

By George Fennell

During an effort of a Negro student to bring the high school system of the state of Georgia into the 20th century, the state of Georgia has been forced to integrate its schools. In Little Rock, Ark., Elizabeth Eckford, also 15, the first of nine

to be desegregated by try to bring the Central High School, under Gen. Ernest Fowler's "private army," the Arkansas National Guard.

In Sturgis, Ky., the site of violence between the white and Negro students, the white Negroes registered at the white high school since a badge of honor was given to the white student for being a racist.

The first mixed classes were begun in the Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., where the state of Arkansas has been forced to integrate its schools. In Sturgis, Ky., the site of violence between the white and Negro students, the white Negroes registered at the white high school since a badge of honor was given to the white student for being a racist.

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### EDITORIAL

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the 1980s and 1990s. The 1980s were the years of the "New South," as the region was called by the late Sen. Strom Thurmond. The 1990s were the years of the "New South," as the region was called by the late Sen. Strom Thurmond. The 1990s were the years of the "New South," as the region was called by the late Sen. Strom Thurmond.

VOL. 1, NO. 1 OCT 1957

# The Life and Death of the Young Socialist

The story of the Young Socialist is the story of the birth of the new radicalization now sinking ever deepening roots in the United States. Born in the wake the first tremors of historic events that were to replace the silent generation of the fifties with its opposite in the sixties, the Young Socialist in the first months of the seventies is passing from the scene to make room for two new publications which bring with them the promise of recording a period of even more rapid advancement toward the American socialist revolution.

This past December in Minneapolis the Young Socialist Alliance held the largest convention in its history. The convention marked an important juncture not only for the YSA, but for the entire student radical movement. At the close of the nineteen sixties, a decade which saw the growth of the mass movement against the war in Vietnam, the spread of nationalist sentiment in the Black and Third World communities and the rise and fall of the New Left, the YSA had emerged as this country's largest radical youth movement. The YSA set for itself at its convention a series of tasks designed to build the developing mass struggles in this country and aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the YSA in organizing and leading these struggles. As a result of the decisions made at the convention, the YS will discontinue publication.

In its more than twelve year history the YS has played a number of different roles, but a common purpose has run through its life. Unlike so many radical publications that have come and gone, the YS has never been content with sideline commentary on passing events. The editors of the YS always held in mind the importance of building a revolutionary socialist youth group. And if the building of such a group was the unique purpose of the YS, it was the success of that purpose that spelled its doom.



Although the fifties were characterized by their lack of radical activity, important things happened on the left in this country that were to leave a decisive mark on the radicalization in the sixties. The much weakened Communist Party in this country was able to maintain a fairly inclusive grip on radical activity until the late fifties. Then, in early 1956, at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev let go with his famous "revelations" about Stalin, and in October of the same year came the Hungarian Revolution. One year later, in October of 1957, the first issue of the YS, a small tabloid newspaper, appeared.

Around the YS, groups of supporters gathered, including young members of the Socialist Workers Party, ex-Communist Party youth and the left wing that had recently split from the Young Socialist League. The majority of the YSL and its parent organization, the Independent Socialist League, had just voted to go into Norman Thomas' Socialist Party. The first issue of the YS carried a front page editorial entitled, "Let Us Build a Movement For All Socialist Youth."

This was a period of "regroupment" of socialist forces over the wreckage of the Communist Party. The YS served as a center for the regroupment of young socialists coming out of the McCarthy era. This was long before the arrival of the underground press, and the YS had the distinction of being the only radical newspaper in the country put out by young people. In a sense, the Young Socialist newspaper was the pioneer of the hundreds of radically oriented newspapers now put out by members of our generation.

In these first days of the YS, the paper played a similar role to that played by Iskra in the life of the early Bolshevik Party. Both papers served as a pole of attraction for scattered groups of socialists. The founding members of the YSA were drawn from the ranks of the "Young Socialist Supporter Clubs" that grew up around the YS.

To turn the pages of the bound volumes of the YS of the sixties is to see the great events, the increasing radicalization of that decade, pass before your eyes. Appearing in the first years of the sixties are articles on the movement in the South against segregation, the campaign against nuclear weapons and struggles against the lingering vestiges of the witch hunt. The most outstanding example of the latter is the case of three YSAers at the University of Indiana, the "Bloomington Students", who were charged with sedition by a local prosecutor. The YS campaigned for their defense, and the charges were finally dropped.

But the three struggles which dominate the pages of the YS are the same three which have been key to the radicalization of the sixties: the Black struggle, the Cuban Revolution and the movement against the war in Vietnam. And what is most striking, in retrospect, is that the YS was always in the forefront, giving direction to these developing struggles.

Quick to pick up on the significance of deepening nationalist sentiment in the Black struggle, the YS carried coverage of Malcolm X during his lifetime when he was either ignored or denounced by almost every other radical publication in the country. One of Malcolm's last acts was to give the YS an interview which appeared immediately after

Students Picket Woolworth's Across the Nation: Reports pp. 3, 4, 5, 8

VS TOURS THE SOUTH

**Southern Students Base Success on Youth Leadership**

Ten Cents  
Vol. 2, No. 3  
May, 1960

**THE YOUNG SOCIALIST**  
Voice of America's Future

**PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE**

**Young Socialists Launch Movement**

**All Out on May 17!**

**BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH'S**

MAY 1960

**HANDS OFF CUBA!**

**THE YOUNG SOCIALIST**  
Ten Cents  
Vol. 4, No. 4 (1961)  
May, 1961

**U.S. STUDENTS DECRY CUBA INVASION**

**'Kennedy: We Condemn You'**

**Stand With Cuba!**

**Washington, D. C.**

**YOUTH FRUSTRATE COPS**

**New Yorkers Protest CD Drills**

MAY 1961

**3 Students Face Jail For Political Ideas**

**THE YOUNG SOCIALIST**  
Ten Cents  
Vol. 4, No. 6 (1961)  
May-June, 1961

**Socialists at Indiana U Indicted for 'Subversion'**

**Threatened With 3-Year Terms Under McCarthy Law Designed To 'Exterminate' Dissident Views**

**My Rights as a Negro**

**What You Can Do**

MAY-JUNE 1963



his assassination. The YS carried important firsthand coverage of the Lowndes County Freedom Party, the growth of Black Power and the development of the Black Panther Party. Not only reportage appeared in the pages of the YS, but analysis as well, right up to "Which Way for Black Liberation?" in the last issue.

The YS has been a consistent defender of the Cuban Revolution. This has been a continuing theme from the first days of the publication to the special issue put out last year after a group of YSAers returned from touring the island on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution.

The war in Vietnam was a topic in the YS before most Americans had heard of the country, and at a time when the existing "peace" movement chose to ignore it. From the March-April, 1965 issue, which had on its back page a call to come to the April 17, 1965 March on Washington, to the October, 1969 issue, which aimed at building the fall offensive and the November 15 March on Washington, the YS has been oriented toward building the mass actions against the war and giving direction to the antiwar movement.

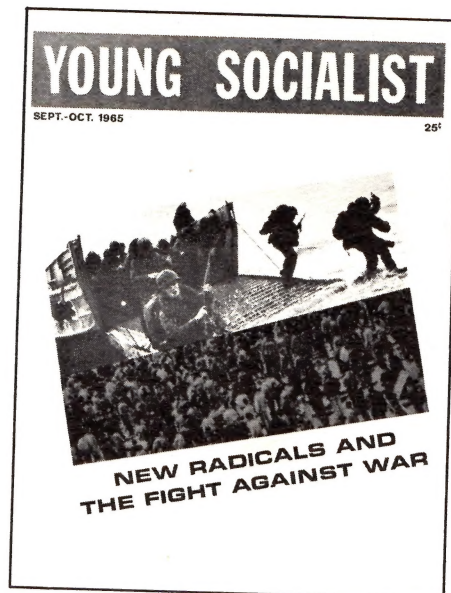
The YS underwent a number of changes in format. The most decisive was in 1964 when the Young Socialist changed from a newspaper to a magazine. At that time it was felt that the YS came out too infrequently to be a practical news medium. Instead, it would be a bi-monthly magazine and carry more in the way of longer, analytical articles.

Among the articles in this period were crucial pieces of analysis of the emerging antiwar movement. The next real change came in early 1967, when the YS became a monthly. A turn was then made toward carrying more coverage of the activities of young socialists in the pages of the magazine. Characteristic of this shift in emphasis were some of the issues that came out during the 1968 Presidential elections and the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. During the past year there were innovations in the layout and design of the magazine. The YS began to develop its own contemporary style and personality.

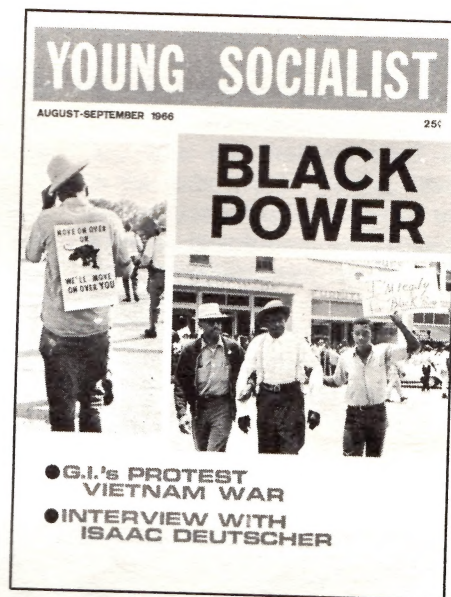
The discontinuation of a publication ordinarily means that it has been a failure, but the YS ceases publication at a point at which it has reached its greatest degree of acceptance. The circulation of the magazine has nearly doubled in the past six months.

The unique purpose of the YS has been to build a revolutionary socialist youth group in the United States, the YSA. And at the recent YSA convention it was found that the growth of the YSA dictates new priorities in publications as successors of the YS.

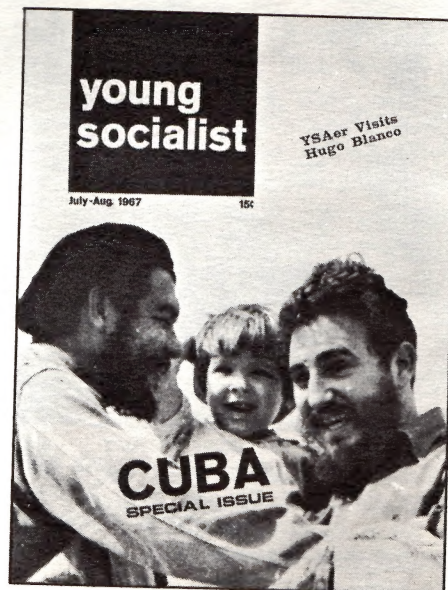
One will be a bi-weekly newspaper, The Organizer. In a sense The Organizer will bear the same relation to the YSA as New Left Notes once bore to SDS, i.e., it will be a publication by and for YSAers, although it will be available to nonmembers. The Organizer will contain news of YSA activities, reports on the general radical movement, as well as material of a routine nature which once came out of the YSA National Office in special mailings to members. This new publication will be essential to meeting the needs of a much larger, geographically dispersed organization.



SEPT-OCT 1965



AUG-SEPT 1966



JULY-AUG 1967



The second publication will be a new magazine published jointly by the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP will discontinue publication of its bi-monthly theoretical journal, International Socialist Review. The new magazine will be aimed at meeting the new stage of the radicalization in this country. We have been witnessing a resurgence of interest in Marxism, a new thirst for socialist answers to the problems facing society.

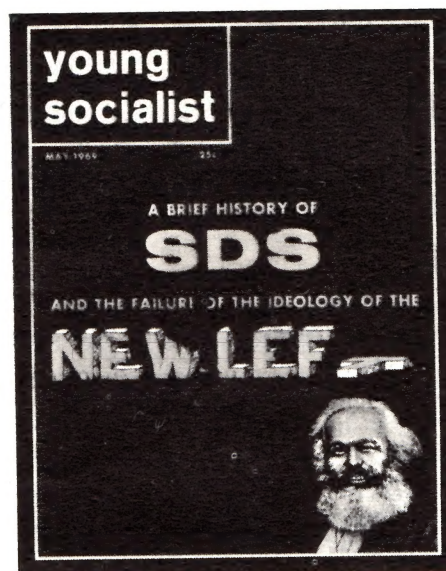
Recently, a group of theoretical magazines has appeared, including Radical America, Leviathan and Socialist Revolution. The new magazine will mark the entrance of the American Trotskyist movement into this field. The magazine will be launched with a big campaign. National newsstand distribution is projected. In a matter of time the magazine should become the socialist magazine in this country. This magazine will contain the type of theoretical articles that once appeared in the ISR, articles by leading Marxists such as Ernest Mandel, George Novack and George Breitman. But it will be more than a "theoretical" magazine. Published in a lively format, it will aim at becoming the magazine of the new American radicalization, summing up the lessons, drawing conclusions, pointing the way.

So, the YS makes way for the greater needs of a new period. It did its job well.

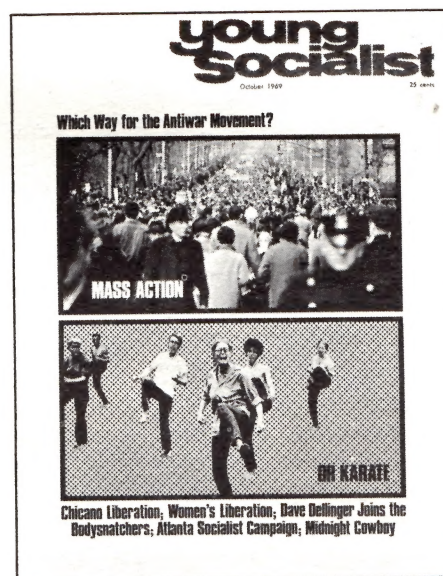
NELSON BLACKSTOCK



ALWAYS IN THE ACTION: THIS PHOTO APPEARED IN THE WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL ON THE DAY OF THE NOVEMBER 14 STUDENT STRIKE. IN A CONFRONTATION OVER THE RIGHT TO USE SOUND EQUIPMENT ON CAMPUS THE HEAD OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER, ELLIE CHRITE, WAS ARRESTED.



MAY 1969



OCT 1969



# Chicano Studies and the Fight for Liberation

**INTRODUCTION:** This article is taken from a discussion held in December among six of the leading figures in the Latin American Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, California. The participants in the discussion are Victor Acosta, chairman of the Chicano Student Union at Merritt; Rosa Maria Pietras, secretary of the Union; Antonio Rios, YSAer and member of the Union's executive committee; Froben Lozada, chairman of the Latin American Studies Department; and Carmen Alegria, member of the Union and a teacher at Merritt. The discussion was set up at the request of the YS by Antonio Camejo, a member of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction in California.

*Camejo:* How was the Chicano Studies Department formed at Merritt College?

*Acosta:* The department was formed when several Chicano students at Merritt decided they wanted a relevant education. They prepared a list of courses they wanted to implement and presented it to the administration.

The administration wanted someone already on the faculty at Merritt College to become chairman of the department; we decided that we wanted an autonomous department. The only way we could accomplish that was by bringing in somebody who agreed with us politically and educationally, so we contacted Froben Lozada who agreed to take the job. We were told by the administration that they would not be willing to concede the department for us, and we had to do informational picketing and threaten further action, a boycott and strike of the school, at which point we got the overwhelming support of the faculty and the students. Then the department was formed.

*Camejo:* Why did you organize the department?

*Acosta:* We, as a group of students, realized that the present educational system had nothing that had any relevance to us, that we were in an educational system totally lacking in any of our background, extremely lacking in its attitudes toward us, and that the only way we could begin to change that was by establishing the type of education we wanted. We went to the trouble of developing our own courses and hiring our own teachers and head of the department. The idea behind the department is that if a student comes to a school and leaves the same school with basically the same kind of attitudes he had before in terms of the establishment, in other words, that he comes into the school and believes that he can obtain what he wants

within the existing political and economic structure in this country, then he has wasted his time.

The idea behind our department is that the student there leaves with an idea that he can obtain effective change of the society, and the most important thing in the whole department is aimed at specific solutions to the problems in this society as they exist today.

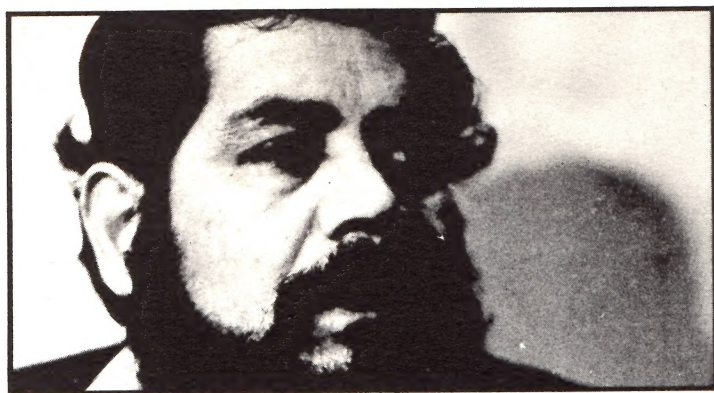
*Camejo:* Do you feel that Chicanos can gain liberation under American capitalism today?

*Acosta:* No. That is exactly the point. The point is that it has become obvious that, as this country is run today economically and politically, the Chicano people and Black people, Third World people, cannot obtain their liberation. There must be a rethinking of the present economic and political system, and it must be changed because as long as there is a ruling class that owns and runs the country for its specific interest, we Chicano people, who have been kept in our place because it is profitable for them, won't obtain our liberation. Therefore, we must begin changing that. We must begin changing it to socialism.

*Camejo:* How does this department differ from other Chicano or Black Studies Departments set up in other schools? I understand that it is quite differently organized in many aspects.

*Lozada:* The students play a prominent role in determining the curriculum. They are also the ones who determine who is to teach those courses. To date, all their recommendations have been accepted by the administration. There are 12 part time members of the faculty, and there are two full time members also, including myself — all chosen by the students.





FROBEN LOZADA

The curriculum, in order to be relevant to students, should let the students have the primary voice in determining what courses they want. This is what they have done. They have told us what it is they want taught, and I as chairman have no more voice than one of our Chicano students there. They have one vote in making decisions and I have one vote and the power is equal.

Now, primarily, it differs from other departments in that we take a very definitive and strong stand on presenting all the courses from the point of view of the oppressed—which has to be a left wing analysis.

*Camejo:* Could you go over some of the courses that are taught at Merritt?

*Lozada:* We have a tremendous variety of courses. From a course on racism to a course on the economic development of the Third World and Latin American Folklore, contemporary Mexican-America today, we cover just about every field possible. Have no doubt that we cover the spectrum in terms of politics and other things. We have courses that deal with Chicano art, a course in English for the Spanish-speaker (that is, English presented as a second language), and the Psychology of La Raza, a course on the history of Atzlan, so we not only cover the cultural aspects but the political as well.

*Acosta:* It is a department that is aimed at creating the whole man, in the Marxist sense of the word, because man lives in society that is not one dimensional. In other words, he cannot just study about history and learn about society. He must study about history, politics, art, language, he must study every aspect of society so that he can begin to have a unified approach to the problems of society, so that he can begin to understand how the society functions.

The department is really aimed at creating the well educated man in the sense that he understands very well exactly what is going on in society. Life is not just chemistry, life is not just history, life is all of the disciplines combined.

*Camejo:* What has been the response of the students to the courses offered and so on?

*Pietras:* Well, the response of individual students that come from high schools in the Bay Area is a beautiful response because they now want to learn, whereas before, when they were going to high school, they didn't even care to read a book or anything. But now they tend to worry



ROSA MARIA PIETRAS

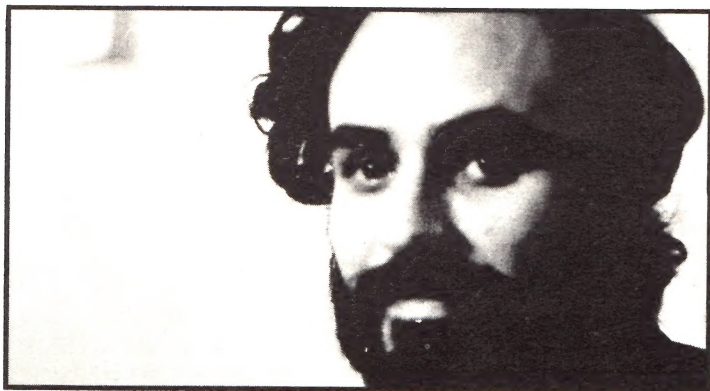
about an exam that may be coming up, or worry about a paper that has to be written. We have students who can't even write a sentence, but now really worry. They want the knowledge necessary to go and further educate themselves, whereas before they would never even worry about it.

*Acosta:* One thing has become very clear in the department because the courses being offered discuss the specific solutions: the enemy in this country is pointed out—that is, the capitalist power structure, the ruling class in this country. Third World students—Chicano students in this specific case, although there are also Black and white students in the classes—begin to understand the reason they are oppressed is that there is a ruling class whose specific interest is to keep them where they are because it is economically profitable for them. And those students begin to have a motivation to struggle. That's one of the aims of the department, to create in the students the idea that they must struggle in order to change the society, the capitalist ruling establishment which exists today.

*Rios:* We can contrast this to the traditional education system. It is very striking at Merritt because for the first time these students are approached on an honest basis. The reality of this society is that the schools are not only geared to mis-educating the students, but to prevent them from getting any meaningful education. This is particularly true in the case of the Chicano student. The Chicano students at Merritt view the traditional educational system which maims and cripples them as a conspiracy against our people. This is reflected by the fact that in this state in which 20 per cent of the people are Chicano, last year only 149 Chicano students graduated from college in the entire state of California. This is incredible. And the Chicano's average educational level in this state is something like eight years and it is much lower in many other areas of the Southwest. It is also reflected by the tremendous push-out rate, not drop-out but push-out rates, in the high schools in the Bay Area and particularly in Southern California. Some of the high schools in the east Los Angeles area, which is the major barrio, have a drop-out rate exceeding 55 per cent. So in terms of the traditional educational system it is very plain.

In contrast to this, when the Chicano student enters Merritt he finds an atmosphere that is directly relevant to his needs and the needs of the Third World and Chicano community. He gets an education which deals with the actual reality of this racist society.





VICTOR ACOSTA

*Lozada:* Most of the 14 teachers are Chicanos, and this definitely helps in relating to the students because most of the teachers have experienced just about everything the present student has experienced and it is much easier to relate to them. Antonio was speaking in terms of involvement. This is the primary criterion for members of the staff. The students first test the future staff member for his degree of involvement in the Chicano movement. After that he is questioned about his degree and his other qualifications, but we are primarily concerned with hiring instructors who have always been committed to the Chicano struggle.

One of the first things the student learns at Merritt is the nature of the ruling class. One of the first things he finds out is that no more than thirty thousand persons in this country dictate domestic and foreign policy and this is indeed a minority that we have to contend with and eventually bring down. They find out how this minority, how these members of the ruling class manage to stay in power through deception and by a number of tricks and also by diverting the issues, and, of course, by the practical application of the old slogan, "Divide and rule", by perpetrating wars and racism. Our criticism of racism is that it is true it is an attitude, but just an attitude does not prevail for centuries. It is an attitude that was nurtured because the ruling class and the slavocracy found it necessary to create myths about the impurity of the Black man in order to justify slavery and apply "Divide and rule" toward the poor white farmers who wanted to form alliances with the Blacks.

It is by talking about these particular issues that Chicanos find out how relevant the Mexican war is to today's world. For instance, they find out what led President Polk to send in troops to Mexico was the fact that the slavocracy had such tremendous weight and wielded such power that it forced the ruling class to take an expansion toward the Southwest to find more virgin territory which the slavocracy could use to continue to plant cotton, and how it ties in with the Chicano struggle at the present time.

*Camejo:* Some people hold that working through the university really amounts to being co-opted and it is not revolutionary. What is your opinion?

*Lozada:* The answer I gave to the previous question helps to clarify that because we are teaching that racism is a product of capitalism, not just a psychological attitude. We're teaching that racism is something that must be supported by capitalism because it is profitable. We also have



ANTONIO RIOS

a course called the Economic Development of the Third World which would have a better name if it were called Economic Underdevelopment of the Third World. It has to do with the imperialist nature of our system. A member of the Socialist Workers Party teaches this course, and she points out to all the students how Third World people are oppressed not only outside this country, but within the country itself.

We also use whatever money we can to help other Chicanos in the movement by asking them to come and lecture in our classes. We have the use of the school station wagon to go to different conferences. We use the rooms and auditoriums to hold liberation schools, as we did during the Chicano walk-out in the Oakland schools. They requested that we give them classes on Chicano liberation and we opened the auditorium for them; most of the staff participated. Also, prior to that, we had a Chicano liberation conference which brought in a good number of Chicanos from outside the Bay Area. The fact that we teach a course from the standpoint of the oppressed with a definite left-wing analysis in itself is an answer to your question. What we have here is a free university, but we take all the state funds possible. We teach the very same courses the Free Universities teach—with state money. The fact that the department was set up by the pressure exerted by the students themselves and that they struggled for the department means that they also became more aware of the issues.

*Camejo:* A lot of people, not only right-wingers, but even some radicals and liberals charge that setting up a Chicano Studies Department, organizing along nationalist lines, taking the community along nationalist lines actually divides the working class and divides the people who should be struggling together. What is the reality at Merritt College in terms of the attitude of the Chicanos towards the whites and the attitudes of the whites towards Chicanos since the department has been formed?

*Acosta:* Rather than division among students there has been unity. What you begin to see at Merritt College is a real coalition between radical white students, Black students and Chicano students. Whenever there is an issue you see all groups participating. What has happened is that there has been an identification of who it is that the struggle is against, and, therefore, there has been a unification. They begin to see who the common enemy is and cease to struggle with each other which is what has happened in other schools when a little bit of money





ANTONIO CAMEJO

was thrown to one group. The Merritt students realize this is the way the ruling class has kept minorities in their places. And these students understand what is being taught to them, that they have been brainwashed all these years, and, once they begin to understand, that they can begin to get into a struggle and begin taking care of a little business.

*Lozada:* About a year and a half ago the Blacks struggled for a Black Studies Department and got it. This year the Chicanos struggled for a Chicano Studies Department, but at the same time it triggered more actions on the part of the Black students. The students are getting more sophisticated now, as Victor said. The Blacks allied with us to help set up the department. There was tremendous support from not only the Chicano community, but also from the Black community and from white radicals. The students, in fighting for the department, saw how the administration was not too willing to give in, but the fact that we were able to unify all the forces enabled us to win all the demands.

The very fact that Chicanos struggled for this department will make them more reluctant to lose it. In the immediate future Merritt College is supposed to be moved up to the hills and they are cutting off one third of the faculty because of a smaller campus on the hill. The Black Studies Department and the Chicano Studies Department will remain intact because I don't think the students will put up with any reduction.

*Rios:* The Chicano and Black students at Merritt see the building of the new campus in the hills and the moving of the college as nothing less than a conspiracy to destroy Merritt because it has become a tremendous thorn in the side of the power structure in the Bay Area and in the nation. The Black and Chicano studies programs there are serving as a real catalyst, even nationally, as an example of what can be done by students when they gain control of the campus and are able to use it as a political instrument.

*Lozada:* We know revolutions are made through victories, not defeats, and the worst thing that can happen to the movement is to be demoralized by defeat after defeat after defeat. At Merritt the opposite has happened which is the way it should be. The students have gained confidence, not only outside of the classroom but as they participate in classes.

There is no question that what we have at Merritt College is unique throughout the country. It would be very

difficult to find other departments that teach the same things we do without the administration getting wind and immediately firing the members of the faculty and also victimizing or expelling students. It is very important that community involvement be taken into consideration whenever attempts of this nature are made because if anything is going to prevent the administration from coming down on similar departments it is going to be the mass actions of community support.

*Acosta:* It is very important to realize that red-baiting of this department occurred because the chairman of the department was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Rather than having him fired—the usual thing in most schools—we had an action which practically closed the school and obtained the hiring of the chairman and also free food for all needy students once a day and free textbooks on a loan basis for a quarter. So the students, instead of falling to pieces because their department chairman was being red-baited, had learned through previous victories that they could struggle successfully and didn't want to sit down and take it. They created another struggle which ended in another victory and were further encouraged to carry more victories forward.

*Lozada:* In my experience it is always a small section of the community which will try to implement scare tactics like red-baiting. At Merritt, the red-baiting served to unify and solidify and even encourage the students to hire me because of the fact I am a Trotskyist, the fact I am involved in the San Francisco State Strike and the Berkeley Third World Liberation Front Strike and other struggles of that nature. What is happening is that the ruling class is no longer able to use scare tactics, going around red-baiting people. They tried to do this before the November 15 antiwar march. The ruling class was trying to intimidate participants by saying they were organized by the Trotskyists and other left wing organizations, and this doesn't work any longer. Nobody minds that anymore.

*Camejo:* How do you view the role of the Chicano Studies Department in the Chicano liberation struggle, the struggle for self-determination?

*Lozada:* All you have to do is go back through the experiences in our department and you see that we have managed to come up with what amounts to a good number of cadre with a very high political consciousness who come around to different schools and listen to us speak to different groups, and they in turn become more confident to the point where they begin to take speaking engagements.

*Rios:* We see that Merritt and other Third World studies departments can make concrete the red university concept. In this state we see that there are about 40 embryonic Chicano studies departments and probably twice as many Afro-American or Black Studies departments. We see that a department like Merritt can serve as a real example to spur this movement. This is an example of how it is possible to convert the educational institutions, the institutions of the system, into instruments of political struggle against the system and to raise the consciousness of students and the community as a whole.



*Lozada:* Even if there are 40 to 50 Chicano studies departments in embryonic form across the state, none of them to this date have as many courses as we do. We have 36 courses at Merritt while much larger campuses have less than half of what we have, and the political nature of the courses will also encourage the other campuses to take action to meet the criteria we have set.

*Camejo:* What is the most important thing the department has been able to achieve in the past year?

*Acosta:* I think one of the most important achievements has been to take a group of students who were fairly apolitical and turn them into what could be called a very good example of well functioning cadre for the Chicano movement, a group of students presently travelling all over the state of California, informing other schools how to get their departments together and begin creating independent political parties to begin the struggle necessary to end capitalist exploitation of Third World people in this country and all over the world. These students have been travelling around the country talking against the war and participating actively in the anticapitalist struggles that have begun to take place in this country. They have an international outlook on the problems occurring in the world. What has happened is that a group of revolutionary individuals has been created within the department.

*Rios:* For example, we see the leading role taken by Merritt students in organizing Third World people against the war in the San Francisco Moratorium. This extended to fighting for the participation of Corky Gonzales, one of the major leaders of the Chicano movement nationally, as one of the speakers at the Moratorium. And of course Corky called for solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, for liberation of Puerto Rico, and placed Chicano people nationally squarely against the war for the first time in the history of the antiwar movement.

*Lozada:* We are not satisfied with just giving the Chicano a self-identity or a self-image or pride in La Raza, but we go beyond that to an internationalism so that we begin to instill into the student a pride that is not purely confined to Chicanos as a race, but as members of the human race for whom the struggles of the Cubans and the Bolivians and the Vietnamese are identical to our struggles. By the time the Chicanos get out of Merritt they will identify not only with Chicanos but with all the oppressed peoples of the world, and defend and support them.

*Camejo:* There is a lot of discussion about male chauvinism among Third World people and here in terms of the women's liberation struggle, many Chicanas are demanding their rights within the struggle. What has been the role of women in the Chicano Student Union at Merritt?

*Pietras:* The men in the Chicano Student Union think of the women as revolutionaries first and as women second. And the women play an equal role in the Chicano Student Union at Merritt College. One of them is now teaching a class in Mexican American and Latin American Contemporary U. S. Relations. Also, we have Carmen Alegria

who is going to teach a class in contemporary poetry. She will teach the students to use words as weapons to attack the establishment. And also Sue Smith who will teach economics and Development of the Third World Struggle, A Marxist View. Maria Hernandez who is now teaching English 1-A as a second language for Chicanos and Karen Wald who will be teaching Third World People and the Labor Force. So as you can see the women play an equal role. And also I am on the executive committee of the Chicano Student Union.

*Lozada:* I think we should also point out that the same criterion is used for men in their selection as is used for women—that is, their involvement. For instance, when Beatriz was hired, we didn't hesitate at all because she told us she was formerly a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

*Alegria:* We think it is necessary to integrate women's demands and the women's liberation program into the Chicano Union and I would like to teach a class on women's liberation next quarter. I think women's liberation should be a part of the whole Chicano liberation program, especially if an independent Chicano party is going to be formed. I think there should be a decent amount of that program devoted to women's problems and women's involvement in the movement and how that can be furthered and how you can get more women to participate. Although women do have an equal opportunity to get involved, I think for psychological reasons, for economic reasons too because they have kids or because they have been taught not to get involved, not to be articulate, they won't get involved unless they know and recognize what their oppression consists of, and feel a greater sense of personal security so that they can participate and not kow-tow to men. They still do this in a way.

*Lozada:* I think another thing that should be said is that three of us in the department are members of the Socialist Workers Party and two of us will be running for election. Tony Camejo will be running for Superintendent of Public Instruction against Max Rafferty, and I will be running for Lieutenant Governor. Also, three members of the staff took a very active role in the Third World Liberation Front strike in the Bay Area, including Ysidro Macias and Bernardo Garcia-Pandaves.

*Pietras:* One of our teachers who was teaching political thought was put in jail for nine months for allegedly kicking a police officer at the Third World strike last February. Because he was teaching at Merritt, the community and students and the faculty put great pressure on the courts and he is out now due to that pressure and publicity which we worked on so hard for him. And it was the students themselves who showed great effort to free this teacher because he could really reach the hearts and minds of the students in class, whereas before the department, the students had shown no interest in any type of education.



# Interview with an Irish Militant



ELISH MCDERMOT

## INTRODUCTION

*The appearance of a new youth vanguard in Northern Ireland became evident when the civil rights campaign got under full swing there in October 1968.*

*This movement had begun some time before this as a largely middle-class and moderate affair dominated by bourgeois elements in the oppressed Catholic community, liberals, and the Northern Ireland Communist party.*

*With the beginning of the big protest marches in October 1968, the civil rights movement began quickly to move in a radical direction. The courage and militancy of the People's Democracy group, made up primarily of students at Queens University in Belfast, provided a major thrust.*

*The new young vanguard in Northern Ireland developed under the momentum of the May-June days in France and learned some vital lessons in direct action from the big anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in Great Britain.*

*The leaders of People's Democracy, the principal young radical group, understood that the oppression of the Catholic minority in the British enclave of*

*Northern Ireland could be ended only by a struggle for socialism.*

*They were determined to oppose both the pro-British Unionist party dedicated to maintaining the traditional Protestant supremacy and the sham nationalism of the Nationalist party, the traditional party of the Catholic minority. They wanted to organize a struggle of all the poor people of Northern Ireland against the reactionary social system based on the centuries-old religious divisions.*

*With this objective in mind, they strove to keep their struggle within the framework of the constitution of the Northern Irish state and avoided raising the question of the partition of Ireland by British imperialism.*

*They strove to achieve in reality the rights of British citizens formally belonging to the inhabitants of Northern Ireland, which is an autonomous province of Great Britain.*

*As the civil rights marches proceeded, the obstacles to overcoming the antagonism between the two religious communities became evident. The Unionist regime refused to let the demonstrators march through Protestant areas. The police themselves led fanatical Protestant mobs in attacking the marchers.*

*While the nonsectarian and progressive demands of the marchers won some*

*support from the most advanced elements in the Protestant community, the vast majority of Protestants appeared to regard the civil rights movement as a threat to their relatively higher status.*

*The basic stock of the Protestant community is descended from colonies "planted" by the British as they completed their conquest of Ireland in the seventeenth century. The conquest was carried out in the name of Protestantism and in the form of religious wars. These wars culminated in the victory by the Protestant William of Orange over James II of Great Britain, with whom the Catholic native Irish had allied themselves, at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.*

*The Protestant colony, except for a brief period, has remained essentially a bastion of English rule in Ireland since that time, a colonial upper caste deriving privileges from association with British rule. Its attitude toward the Catholic descendants of the native Irish is one of semi-racist disdain and hatred.*

*As the movement for Catholic emancipation and Irish independence grew in the first part of the nineteenth century and won concessions from the British, the Protestant Irish ruling class reacted by building up a massive repressive apparatus based on the se-*





FROM BLACK DWARF

cret Orange [for William of Orange] Order, which resembles the Ku Klux Klan.

In order to block the emergence of a strong independent Irish state from the revolution of 1916-22, the British government created an enclave in north-east Ireland covering the largest possible area in which a Protestant majority could be obtained—an area comprising six out of Ireland's thirty-two counties. The Orange Order and the Unionist party which is its political expression have ruled this enclave of Northern Ireland for the half-century it has existed. The B Special constabulary, a counterrevolutionary force created during the Irish independence struggle has been maintained as a fanatical Orange vigilante organization.

The regular police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), unlike the police in the rest of the United Kingdom, have been armed. The Special Powers Act enables the Northern Irish government to arrest and detain indefinitely without trial persons suspected of "subversion."

In response to the economic decline of Northern Ireland in recent years and the rising pressure for reforms from several quarters, an extremely virulent form of Orangism has arisen, similar in many respects to fascism.

This movement, led by the fundamentalist Protestant preacher Ian Paisley, has succeeded in mobilizing the Protestant petty-bourgeoisie which feels most threatened by the prospect of democratic reforms, as well as an important section of the Protestant working class.

While the civil rights marchers generally failed to achieve their aim of winning the Protestant working class, their impact on the Catholic population exceeded their expectations.

The doubly oppressed poor Catholic population saw the young socialists of People's Democracy as courageous fighters for their rights, in contrast to their traditional bourgeois leaders who had long since fitted into a position, in fact, of junior partners of the Unionist ascendancy. The Catholic ghettos were aroused by the Paisleyite attacks on the marchers.

Massive clashes occurred as Paisleyite mobs and police tried to stage pogroms to terrorize the ghettos into submission. In January 1969 an attempted pogrom spurred the Catholic workers in Derry City, the second largest city in Northern Ireland, to barricade off their ghetto, Bogside, for ten days and set up their own defense force.

Another attempted pogrom in Derry City in August 1969 produced explo-

sions throughout Northern Ireland. The Catholic neighborhoods in Belfast and Derry City were barricaded off and an independent authority was established in these areas. The banned tricolor of the Irish republic flew over the ghettos.

The revival of the Irish national struggle by this most oppressed section of the population produced a lightning radicalization in Eire. The Irish bourgeoisie, which capitulated to British imperialism thirty years ago and has been liquidating the achievements of the revolution ever since that time, was forced, temporarily, to assume a militant stance.

The British government rushed in troops with a twofold objective—(1) to prevent any massacres of Catholics, which would have given it a black eye internationally and probably stirred a wave of revolutionary nationalism that would have swept away the neo-colonialist Eire regime; (2) and to back up the Unionist repressive forces which had shown their ineffectiveness in a number of areas.

This revolutionary upsurge appears, at least in part, to have outdistanced People's Democracy. Although the socialist students played an honorable role in defending the ghettos, they produced no program to further the self-



organization of the oppressed community.

*PD's strategy appears still based exclusively on uniting Protestant and Catholic workers in a fight for higher wages and social benefits. Such a strategy, however, could be successful only if major concessions were extracted from the capitalists, showing the Protestant workers that they can gain more by uniting with their Catholic fellow workers than by holding on to their historical privileges. With the British economy as a whole in difficulty, it seems unlikely that the bosses can be forced to make such concessions.*

*It is hard to see any other way for breaking down the caste system in Northern Ireland than organizing the nearly 40 percent Catholic minority to make it impossible for the Unionists to rule. This could open up the way for an all-Ireland socialist revolution that could offer real gains for all Irish workers.*

*Thrown unexpectedly into the vortex of semi-civil war, the loosely organized Northern Irish young socialists face a severe test. Eilish McDermott, a PD representative to the convention of the National Association for Irish Justice (NALJ), the American supporter group of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which was held in New York November 7-9 gave the following interview to the Young Socialist. Her remarks may indicate the evolution of the Northern Irish young socialists since the the August explosions.*

**YS: Have the barricades all been demolished in Northern Ireland?**

**A:** Well, the actual physical barricades have been demolished in Northern Ireland, but there are still lots of barriers in people's minds, not least among them the barrier of mistrust between themselves and the Unionist government. But I presume you were talking about barricades in the Falls Road and barricades in the Bogside, and so far they have all been demolished. But the Army are setting up their own barricades at night—the British Army, that is to say — and they are checking certain cars and car numbers as they go through.

**YS: What is the mood of the people in the ghettos in Northern Ireland? Do they feel that they are victorious, that they have won a victory or are they exhausted by the long period of tension?**

**A:** They're scared, that's all. They're just scared. There's a sort of uneasy peace reigning, in Belfast at least. I don't live near Derry so I wouldn't know very much about it. But an uneasy peace reigns in Belfast. And one gets the impression from walking up these roads that they are just waiting for the next pogrom to arrive, waiting for some other malicious, insidious act on the part of the Unionist government.

There is an atmosphere of the greatest mistrust. While the British troops are there it's not so bad, because at least the women and children can feel secure, even though they may not like their presence in ideological terms. But the British troops may be withdrawn after Christmas. In fact, this is quite a likely probability. And what will happen on the Falls Road then is anybody's guess.

**YS: Do the young civil rights activists in Northern Ireland identify with the Czech students who resisted the Russian occupation and the American students who are fighting against the war in Vietnam?**

**A:** Our moral support would indeed be voiced for these people in their struggles because we believe that injustice is the same the world over, that the oppressors and the oppressed suffer the same sort of problems. We would certainly give our moral support, and if anybody happened to be in a position at any time to either actively help them or speak on their platform, it would not be against the People's Democracy ideology to do so.

**YS: Do you feel that any concrete achievements have come out of the rebellions in the North?**

**A:** Well, in order to assess whether any concrete achievements have come out of the disturbances in the North one first has to look at what the civil rights movement demanded and then see what it's got.

First of all, it demanded "One man, one vote." "One man, one vote" has been promised, but the promises of the Unionist government are not very famous for being kept. The next election has been put off almost indefinitely. We don't know when it will be. We are told that by that election we will have "One man, one vote" but we have

absolutely no guarantee. Mr. Porter, the Minister of Home Affairs, and Mr. Chichester-Clark, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, are always talking about the legal guarantees on the books, but this seems to be something which can be very easily revoked at any time.

The second thing that we asked for was fair boundaries. There was a re-drawing of local government boundaries because the boundaries were gerrymandered to the extent that, for instance, in Fermanagh, where three-quarters of the population is Catholic, and one-quarter is Protestant, that out of the four seats the Unionists should have three and the Catholics only should have one. The representation was the complete reverse of what it should have been. Therefore, Mr. Faulkner [Minister of Economic Development and a representative of the Presbyterian business class] went on TV to announce the re-drawing of local government boundaries. And lo and behold, when we see the local government boundaries, perhaps they're more subtly drawn, but they are even worse, if anything, than the boundaries were before. So obviously that particular demand has to be shoved out the window.

We've asked for repeal of the Special Powers Act. At present there are two members of the Civil Rights Association Executive imprisoned under the Special Powers Act. Therefore, we've asked for free speech. Free speech is obviously very intimately connected with the Special Powers Act and we haven't got it either.

The Hunt Report [by a commission of the British Parliament] on reforming the police and the Specials is perhaps the best omen that Northern Ireland has received in recent times. Hunt has recommended that policemen change their uniforms from the dark bottle green that they wear to a brighter blue to give them a sort of new image. He has also recommended that they be disarmed, although I believe at the moment they are carrying arms at night, especially those who are in the Falls Road or in other areas which they might consider dangerous, the areas which used to be behind the barricades or the areas in the Bogside.

Now, he has also recommended that the B Specials be disbanded and that a home guard of a thousand men be set up in their place. These men could well be the Specials again, just sort of transferred into a home guard. We don't



know. We have learned to discover since October 1968 that we just cannot under any circumstances trust the Unionist government. Unionists are not to be trusted. They're—well, I won't go on to say what they are, I'll just say they're not to be trusted.

**JS: What are the main points about the character of the struggle in Northern Ireland that you would like American socialists to understand?**

**A:** The main point that I would like American socialists to understand is what I was talking about at the conference of the NAIJ today, and that is that the new long-term policy of the People's Democracy is for a thirty-two county socialist workers and small farmers republic. We do not support this on emotional grounds. We abhor anybody who bases their politics on emotional grounds. We have tried to sort it out fairly clinically, and we have come to the conclusion that the only solution for Ireland at the moment is such a type of state. We base this decision on three factors.

The first is the Protestant backlash and the emergence of Orange fascism. This has shown us that the Orange fascist, apart from the sort of thing that he was, he now has teeth as well. Because Reverend Ian Paisley went to Stormont quite recently to protest against the Hunt report because he decided that it was a terrible shame that the Specials should be taken out of Ulster when never there was such a fine body of men. And he was able to muster at the drop of a hat 3,000 supporters to take with him to lobby their MPs. Now this just shows you the terrible strength that he has.

We think it to be very, very important that the people of the United States realize that Ireland is not an Ireland of one culture. There are two cultures in Ireland. There is the Irish culture, the old Irish culture, and there is what is, in a way, derisively called the "planter's stock." Those are the Scottish and English and Welsh who immigrated into Northern Ireland 300 or 400 years ago. And as far as I am concerned, and as far as the people in Northern Ireland are concerned, if you've been living in Ireland for 400 years, you're an Irishman. That's our first premise.

Before I go on, I would just like to say that we want to try as far as possible to convince the Protestant work-

ing class that the Unionists are really trying to fool them. I mean in the Shankhill Road and the Falls Road, the two poorer ghettos of Belfast (the Falls is the Catholic, the Shankhill the Protestant), ninety-one percent of the houses have no water. They have no bath, they have no inside toilet, they have one cold tap, that's all, for maybe a large family. But the Protestant is afraid, he doesn't even want to give up his house without any water because he thinks he's going to be submerged into an all-Ireland republic. He thinks that he's going to be right under the heavy fist of the Catholic Church. He thinks that he's going to be standing behind the Catholic or behind anybody who's not on the Northern Ireland dole queue. He thinks he's going to lose everything he has economically, and be discriminated against in a religious fashion.

Our campaign must be to work very steadily, very long—it will be a very tedious exercise—to endeavor by some means or another to persuade the Protestant working man that we are on his side. I know that we have been trying to do this since last October the 5th. But now we intend to do things like supporting strikes in factories which are primarily Protestant. And going out into the Protestant areas—really having a sort of "pilgrimage campaign," if you like. Because the issue is so important that the whole future of Ireland, and England, and perhaps even some repercussions in America as well, depend on it.

Now very briefly I'll go over the other two factors which make us believe that a socialist workers republic is the only answer.

The first one is that at present there are eight and a half thousand troops in Northern Ireland. Now the population of Northern Ireland, by the way, is one and a half million people, which is six times less than it is in New York. That's all the people there are that are fighting. But we feel that in the beginning the British troops served to defuse the situation. They had some kind of placating effect on people. But we think that we must make people aware that these men, fine though they are, and protective though they have been to the people in the ghetto areas, are just earning their living, they are taking their orders, and they'll smile at you one day and they'll shoot you the next.

And apart from that, neither do we

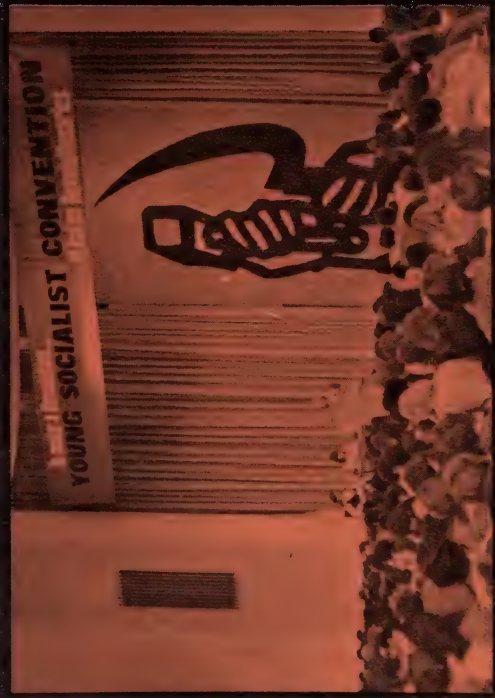
support the overtones of British imperialism which this brings. You know, Britain did exactly the same thing as she's doing in Northern Ireland in Kenya, and in Malaya, and in Malta. And General Freeland himself, the officer commanding all the troops in Northern Ireland, was in one of those countries. We want no further truck with British imperialism. It's got nothing to do with us, it's never done the people of Ireland, North or South, any good in all the fifty years that we have been connected to England.

And the third point is that we must be able to rely on some kind of support from the South should another pogrom arrive, should there be more destruction on the Falls and on the Shankhill, what there's left of it. We must be able to rely on support from the South. But by support from the South, we don't mean the Prime Minister of Eire's army walking up to the border and walking down again because we think that he only serves to inflame the Protestant population and even the moderate Protestant will become a Paisleyite out of sheer fear. The Protestant man in Ireland is not *bad*, he's not malicious, he's afraid. Because the Unionist Party has gypped him and fooled him into believing that he has some kind of higher echelon in life than his Catholic neighbor. It's totally untrue. Well, perhaps there is a *grain* of truth in it, but you know it's not worth that kind of sectarian class conflict.

So we feel that the only time that intervention from the South can now be successful is when that intervention is coming with the intention of forming a socialist Irish workers and small farmers republic. We must be prepared for that. We must form links in the South. We must also bring home to the South the nature of their economic imperialism. We must say to them: "Forget about British goods. Forget about American goods. Stop draining your money out of your country. Stop giving it away to line the pockets of Swiss bankers and German industrialists. This is no good. We don't want it."

We feel, therefore, that the nature of the campaign from now on will be one of a sort of humdrum work. It will be tedious, it will be tiring. But if *anything* like the results we hope for were to come out of it in the end, I think it would be well worth it.









# YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION 12-69



# Two views of the YSA Convention

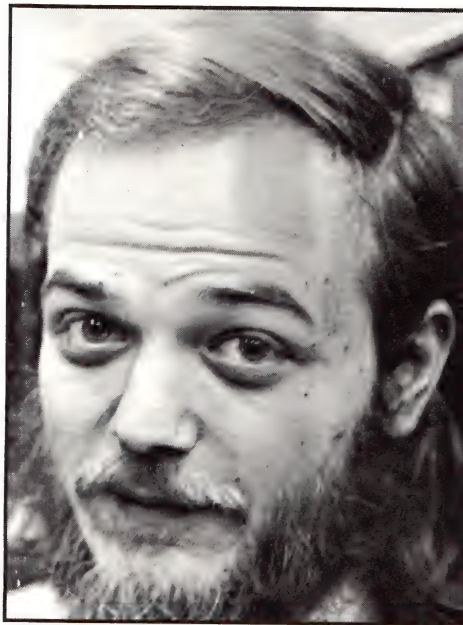
Over the past several years it has been customary to run a photo spread along with an article on Young Socialist Conventions in the pages of the YS. By now most readers of the YS have read about the December convention which received national press and television coverage. So, in this last issue of the YS, we decided to approach our coverage of the convention a little differently.

In addition to the reporters for the **Militant**, representatives from three major components of the movement press covered the convention. After the convention the reporter from the **Guardian** and one from Liberation News Service decided to join the YSA. The reporter from the **Daily World**, the Communist Party organ, was evidently not convinced.

We thought it would be interesting to our readers to have these two new YSAers write accounts of the convention and the impact it had on them.

Nick Gruenberg was in SDS at Columbia in 1967. Later he was on the steering committee of the Berkeley SDS chapter. For the past year he has been on the national staff of LNS.

Randy Furst is a staff reporter for the **Guardian**, the national movement news-weekly. He has covered the student movement, SDS, the GI movement and the antiwar movement for the **Guardian** for the last two and a half years. Active in the antiwar movement for some six years, Furst worked in Mississippi in 1964 and was a member of SDS. He is currently an elected member of the **Guardian's** five member coordinating committee.



## 1. Nick Gruenberg

The full flowering of Weatherman forced me to develop a coherent critique of the New Left. Weatherman, as the logical conclusion of the development of the New Left in the last few years in its full purity. I had to reconsider many tendencies of the New Left which I had previously only criticized in token fashion: the fetish of illegality, the fear of alliances, the desire to be "pure" revolutionaries, the overwhelming tendency for our development to be molded by our own subjectivism and not by an understanding of reality. Weatherman's turn to lunacy also made it clear that the largest organizational form of the New Left, SDS, could not survive. The balkanization of the New Left added a disastrous organizational crisis to its ongoing political problems.

All fall these and other issues were bouncing around in my mind. I boarded the bus to Minneapolis for the YSA Convention in basic agreement with YSA; if I had not been sent by LNS to cover the convention, I would have found another way to get there.

The convention impressed me, but I tried to remain aloof because I did not want to make a political decision through social pressure or being swept off my feet by one meeting. At LNS, we have a tendency to ride people who come back from a group's convention strongly sympathetic, as often happens. I knew if I came back starry-eyed, no one would take me or YSA seriously. I decided to join YSA, but felt I should

talk about it with the LNS collective before taking action; this put me in an awkward position at the convention whenever a YSAer tried to recruit me, especially when it was an old friend.

I had gone to the convention almost convinced to join the YSA, but I watched for things that might change my mind. Very few things surprised me, however, although I was impressed by the dedication and professionalism with which the convention was carried out.

The convention was unlike any other national meeting I have been to. It had an air of purposefulness which has been lacking from any SDS meeting I have ever seen.

The convention made me realize more fully than I had previously that YSA is the backbone of the mass movement for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. I had known for a long time that the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party provide the primary organizational thrust for the mass antiwar movement, but this had not played an active role in my political thinking, probably because I used to be opposed to mass marches.

The only real surprise for me at the convention was the membership. I had carried an image of the typical YSAer as blond, lutheran and very straight. What I found was an incredible hetero-



THIRD WORLD PANEL: Tony DeLeon, Chicago, is at the microphone; in the foreground is Antonio Rios, Berkeley.



geneity in the membership: straight, hip; white, third world; an age range from 17 to late twenties. The change in membership was most dramatically revealed in the evening parties. No longer the dull, dry movement affairs of yore, these were pretty lively parties.

On the whole, the convention was very educational, but it was not critical in my decision to join the YSA. What made me a YSAer was watching the YSA put its theory into practice during the many years I spent in the school of the New Left, learning from the New Left's mistakes.



## 2. Randy Furst

In contrast to the vacuous rhetoric and arrogant sloganeering that has marked the proceedings of the SDS and Progressive Labor conventions in the past, the December convention of the Young Socialist Alliance stood out in sharp relief. These Young Socialists, who called themselves Marxist-Leninists, were mapping out a program that was both reasonable and radical. Listening to the debate, conducting a score of interviews, it was difficult to come away with any other impression than that these people were serious and committed revolutionaries.

As a staff reporter for the *Guardian*, I had written a number of articles in the past that were anti-Trotskyist, some explicitly, some implicitly. In large part however, I did not cover the YSA at all, having been persuaded that it was an irrelevant, static, old left organization.

The convention was living proof that such was not the case, that in fact the

YSA was neither irrelevant nor static, but rather the most significant revolutionary tendency on the radical left.

During the course of four intensive days of discussions, YSAers outlined their theory and program for youth, the campus, the Black community, women's liberation and the antiwar movement. There was a patience and confidence in the way YSAers described the prospects for a working class upsurge in the United States. "There are no shortcuts to making a revolution," one YSA activist explained to me during one of the discussions.

It is interesting—to say the least—to realize that the YSA is the only youth organization on the left with a concrete rational program for the campus. SDS, for example, never managed to put one together, although perhaps more than 100,000 members flowed through the organization's local chapters during the latter half of the 1960s. Whereas much of SDS tended to reject the campus, especially during its final year of existence, YSAers at the convention spoke of vast opportunities to build the student movement. Far from belittling the campus as an arena for radical change, YSAers had sketched out an elaborate non-sectarian program for mass campaigns against ROTC, in support of Black student demands, and against military recruitment. The convention debate was hardly armchair polemicizing. Much of the discussion drew upon YSAers' experience in organizing student struggles over the past year.

The war in Vietnam and the perspective of mobilizing mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal was a central theme of the convention. As might be expected from an organization that has actively built broad based antiwar demonstrations since 1966, the YSA delegates threw their full support behind the building of mass actions this spring.

In the course of several discussions—

and arguments—with YSA leaders, I laid out some of the patent new left charges invariably levelled against mass demonstrations. As one who has marched against the war for years, the YSA's position on antiwar demonstrations had always seemed liberal to me. The responses from the Trotskyists were clear and precise. Mass actions to bring all the troops home now, Dick Roberts of the Militant staff explained, are crucial to defending the Vietnamese revolution and our job as revolutionaries is to support that revolution by mobilizing masses of Americans to march in the street against the war. What about building an anti-imperialist organization? Said Roberts: The YSA is an anti-imperialist organization.

The unifying theory that underlies Trotskyism is the perspective of world socialist revolution. On the one hand, YSAers explained, they support national liberation struggles, unconditionally. On the other hand, Trotskyists totally reject the theory offered by Joseph Stalin that socialism can be built in one country. At the convention, YSAers detailed the failures of the Soviet revolution, despite the state's abolition of capitalism.

Sometime ago, before I joined YSA, I was talking with a Trotskyist, when the conversation momentarily lulled.

"Have you read Lenin's *What is to be Done?*" he asked.

"Yes," I said.

"We're doing it."

At the time I shrugged off the remark. Since then, I have found the man was right. Trotskyists are doing what must be done in this country. I urge you to join in that task of building a Marxist-Leninist organization by joining the YSA. Without reservation, I can firmly say that the Young Socialist Alliance is the leading revolutionary tendency in the United States today.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION PANEL: Participants are, left to right, Tobah Leah Singer, Boston; Kipp Dawson, New York; Ruth Getts, DeKalb; Ruthann Miller, New York; Diane Feeley, San Francisco; and Jaqueline Rice, Detroit.



## Vincent Raymond Dunne

1889 - 1970

Vincent Raymond Dunne, one of the founding leaders of the American Communist and Trotskyist movements, died in Minneapolis February 17. He devoted more than 65 of his 80 years of life to the class struggle, following a career that embodied the development of the revolutionary trend in American radicalism. He was an organizer and leader in the IWW, a founder of the American Communist Party and then of the American Left Opposition and finally of the Socialist Workers Party. During the last years of his life, he helped to educate and inspire the radicalizing young people who entered the ranks of the YSA, and he in turn was inspired by the growth and development of the revolutionary socialist youth organization. He followed the activities of the YSA closely right up to the last moments of his life. The day before he died he had responded with enthusiasm and confidence in the future to a report of the YSA's leading role at the National Student Antiwar Conference of the SMC in Cleveland. He is shown here receiving a standing ovation from the YSAers at the Young Socialist National Convention in December during a special program commemorating the 1934 general truck drivers' strikes of which he was a central leader. Ray's warm and considerate personality was marked by a genuine modesty which made him resist the special attention comrades wanted to give him to demonstrate their admiration and affection. Last spring, the YSAers and SWPers in Minneapolis managed to convince him to allow a joint celebration of May Day and his 80th birthday because such an affair could benefit the movement. One of the speakers, Marvel Scholl, expressed the feelings of everyone present on that occasion when she told Ray from the podium, "We are all so happy to have this opportunity while you are still with us to show you how much your comrades love you." All of us did love him, and, like the thousands who join today and the thousands more who will join tomorrow, we will be moved by the memory of his example to increase our dedication to the goal for which he fought so well and with so much integrity during his entire life, the emancipation of humanity from class rule.





# The American Road to Socialism:

## A LETTER AND A REPLY

November 22, 1969

Young Socialist,

*First of all, I got the November issue of your magazine in Washington on November 15. I read your magazine carefully and would like to ask you a couple of questions.*

*1. You say there must be a revolution in America. When would this revolution take place? Right now in the masses there is not enough discontent for a revolution. What do you think of the factions at Washington which provoked violence? (I'm not sure provoked is the right word, though.) Do you think their skipping a couple of steps of the theory of revolution helped the revolution or harmed it?*

*2. I am nonviolent. Would you go right into the violent confrontations of revolution, or would you use propaganda at first to get your message across to the people to make them sympathize with you, rather than go ahead with your violent confrontations now and cause alienation?*

*3. Do you think a revolution can come through the system, by socialist candidates who might become elected in the future?*

*I think the YSA is the only serious revolutionary group now. I agree with the ends, but am not sure about your means. Please explain. I would like some more information. Thank you.*

Dean Springer  
New Jersey

January, 1970

Dear Dean,

Your letter very clearly poses some of the questions of ends and means

that are basic to a revolutionary approach to politics.

Revolutionary socialists in the YSA believe a massive majority of the people will be required to successfully transform the social system, abolish capitalism and establish the foundation for socialism. You are obviously correct in observing that today a majority of the people in this country does not favor a revolution. At the same time, however, most people are not content. They want things that they will not be able to have until capitalism has been destroyed. In fact, many people will not have things they need, which ought to be the right of every human being, until capitalism has been destroyed. Today they do not yet see that it will take a revolution to get the things they want and need. They do not understand yet that capitalism is responsible for the frustration and misery of going without things they need and desire. By helping to lead and organize struggles for these things, revolutionary socialists are able to speed up the rate at which people realize the need for a fundamental change. These struggles also serve to demonstrate to working people their own strength and ability as a class, giving them the necessary confidence to bid for political power against the capitalists.

There are many examples of these kinds of things—that people want and need and have a right to, but cannot get under capitalist rule. Workers want to maintain and continue to improve their standard of living. They want to escape being treated like objects by huge bureaucracies on and off the job. People want nutritious food and decent housing, adequate medical care, clean air and water, safe, accessible and efficient

transportation, the opportunity for education and the chance to develop their talents and abilities. Women want to be able to act and be recognized as human beings and not as fixtures in men's households and servants to children. Students want to play a role in determining the course of their own education. Third World people want control of schools, police and other institutions in their communities.

People do not want to have to pay for, fight and die in and suffer the other hardships imposed by war. In particular, most Americans want to see an end to the war in Vietnam. One of the best concrete and current examples of the majority of people wanting something that contradicts the needs of the capitalist system is the massive opposition to the Vietnam war.

The role of revolutionary socialists in organizing that opposition into action, furthering its reach, sharpening its focus and making tens of thousands of Americans more conscious of the basic contradiction behind the war offers a living example of the kind of strategy and tactics we advocate in the struggle to replace capitalism with socialism.

The war in Vietnam is an integral part of the strategy of the U.S. ruling class for world domination. The imperialists who run this country need to keep control of underdeveloped areas like Southeast Asia (and keep them underdeveloped) so that they can serve as sources of raw material and cheap labor and as markets for commodities and capital investment. Revolutions like those in China and Cuba have torn away important areas from the orbit of such exploitation and serve as examples to other peoples fighting to improve their own condition. A Vietnamese victory would be a major defeat for the



capitalists, both because it would inspire other Third World peoples and because Vietnam occupies a strategic position in Southeast Asia, one of the richest areas of opportunity for imperialist exploitation.

The class struggle is a worldwide struggle, and at this moment the war in Vietnam is the main arena of contest between the forces fighting for socialism and the forces fighting to protect capitalism. It is the duty of revolutionary socialists in every country to make the defense of the Vietnamese revolution the central axis of their battle against their own ruling class. Nowhere is this more true than here in the United States, something the YSA has recognized ever since the escalation of U. S. aggression thrust Vietnam to the center of the world struggle in the middle of the 1960s.

The approach of the YSA from the very beginning of the antiwar movement has been to aim at building mass actions like the one in Washington November 15. These mass demonstrations are a concrete expression of independent political opposition to the capitalist government, opposition outside the control of the two capitalist political parties, the Democratic and Republican parties. The YSA has sought in the past and continues to fight today to maintain the independence of this kind of opposition by participating in and being the best builders of antiwar coalitions based on mass action which allow the participation of everyone who wants to build such actions.

We do not agree with the factions who organized the separate demonstrations at the Justice Department and Labor Department in Washington on the 15th. (I agree that "provoke" is not the best word—these factions did not provoke violence, but organized their actions in a way that gave the cops an "excuse" to attack them.) The government in a capitalist society is the agent of the ruling class, but in order to rule effectively on behalf of such a tiny minority, it needs to make the overwhelming majority believe that it is really the instrument of the popular will. Because the government needs to keep people believing this, it has to be careful about how it uses violence. If it is obvious to most people that the government is violently attacking people just because their ideas or actions challenge the special interests and privileges of a tiny few, the people will begin to lose their illusions about the democratic nature of the government. The ruling class and politicians

know this. Therefore, when they want to use force and violence against a group or a movement, they look for a way to do so without making it clear that this is what they are doing.

I said before that the factions who demonstrated at the Labor and Justice Departments gave the cops an "excuse" to attack them. The cops don't need much of an excuse; all they need is a situation where it is unclear to most people that the source of violence is the government and the cops, where it is possible for most people to think the demonstrators may have been the ones responsible. The surest way to minimize the likelihood of a police attack on a demonstration, and to insure that such an attack will be clearly seen by everyone for what it is if it does take place, is to build the demonstration as big as possible; by the same token, *part* of building a demonstration *is* making it crystal clear that you are not looking for a violent physical confrontation because many people who would otherwise participate will stay away if they expect there to be violence. The largest possible demonstration is also the best *political* confrontation. Such a demonstration puts real pressure on the ruling class. It is impossible for them to attack with force a demonstration of a million people without destroying illusions they desperately want to preserve, but the demonstration *itself* goes a long way toward puncturing illusions in the democratic nature of the system when it is large enough to indicate a majority of the people's opposition to a policy the government continues to pursue. The groups and individuals who organized the smaller actions in Washington fail to grasp the significance of mass action, what it means to mobilize millions; they think they can accomplish more with a dedicated handful. And while the violence of the cops is not their fault, many of them mistakenly believe that such violence will destroy illusions and teach people about the nature of the state—in fact, the opposite is the case. Your own characterization of their approach as "skipping a couple of steps" is significant because that is precisely what they are trying to do. However, the reality is that there are no short-cuts around the building of a genuinely mass movement, and for this reason we see tactics which ignore this reality as harmful, both to the antiwar struggle and to the struggle for socialism.

For revolutionary socialists, nonviolence is not a principle. The question of

using physical force for self-defense against attack by the ruling class is a tactical one, determined by the relationship of forces in both the immediate situation and in an over-all (or nationwide) sense at any given time. We favor the *right* of armed self defense, but we consider other factors in deciding whether or not to exercise that right in particular circumstances, such as whether exercising it will mean getting wiped out by superior forces or not. The most important aspect of defense, whether it is armed or not, is its political aspect, aimed at mobilizing massive support for the policy adopted.

We believe election campaigns to be an extremely useful tool for reaching large audiences with socialist ideas, and we actively support the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party when they run for office, as many are doing all over the country this year. We understand that the capitalist state is the agent of the ruling class, as I said before. Socialism will never be achieved through the election of socialist candidates because the capitalists will not allow this to happen and because the capitalist state machinery is designed for rule by the capitalist minority and a workers' government will require a different kind of state. But we also know that most people today still believe in the elections. Therefore, it is important for revolutionary socialists to show people they are serious about their opposition to capitalist rule by challenging the capitalists politically at the polls, as well as in mass actions in the streets. It is only by breaking masses of people away from the two capitalist parties that socialists can expect to expose to them the fraudulence of the capitalists' claim to be democratic. For this reason, the YSA not only supports Socialist Workers Party candidates, but we call for the formation of mass independent political parties to fight for the interests of oppressed groups in the society, such as a Black Party and a labor party based on the trade unions.

I hope I have helped clear up some of the questions you had about the means we advocate to achieve our ends, and I look forward to having you join the YSA and help us fight for mankind's survival, the struggle for socialism.

Fraternally,  
Carl Frank  
Young Socialist Editorial Board



# Marxism and Art

IN THE FIRST YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, THE ARTIST ENJOYED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. AN EXAMPLE OF THE ART PRODUCED IN THIS PERIOD IS VLADIMIR TATLIN'S 1919 WOODEN MODEL FOR A GLASS AND IRON MONUMENT TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.



The American left has not yet succeeded in developing a clear, consistent and scientifically Marxist approach to the analysis of cultural and artistic phenomena in the epoch of imperialism. While Europeans can point to the works of Lucien Goldmann and Georg Lukacs as significant contributions to Marxist esthetics, America has produced no thinker — or method — of equal stature. Undoubtedly, this is partly due to the inherent antagonism between capitalist ideology and dialectical materialist thought, and the difficult task of operating here in the imperialist center of the world: the full force of the bourgeois media and educational system serves to systematically distort and suppress developments in Marxist theory. In addition, the Cold War defection of the intellectual left and the widespread confusion of Stalinist conceptions of "Socialist Realism" with the Marxist approach to art and literature have had serious disorienting effects.

As the youth radicalization has spread across the United States, and thousands of high schoolers, college students and young workers have begun to consider themselves Marxists and revolutionary

socialists, there has been an increasing desire to apply revolutionary thought to literature, art and film as well as to politics. Unfortunately, despite the fast pace of the radicalization itself, there is no short cut to the development of a Marxist method of cultural analysis, just as there is no short cut to building the revolutionary movement. Both tasks demand serious historical study. Lack of such a study can result in serious deviation from Marxism, including reversion to Stalinist ideas. This has already been appearing in the radical press, especially in regard to such matters as "proletarian culture," the ability of "counterrevolutionary art" to precipitate the rebirth of capitalism in Mao's China, and the notion that any commercially successful art accepted by bourgeois critics is automatically suspect.

The problem of developing Marxist esthetics is further complicated by the lack of a truly socialist society where such a complex and demanding discipline can be cultivated socially and educationally. It is not surprising that the newly radicalizing students are having difficulty in assimilating and understanding the historical roots and theoretical basis for the Marxist analysis of culture. The problems are many:

How is it possible that Marx's favorite writers included the monarchist Balzac, and Shakespeare, with his obvious bias against the lower classes? What is the relationship between a writer's politics and the quality of his writing? What role do economic forces play in a work of art?

Literature and art are part of the ideal superstructure. They are only indirectly related, or ultimately related, to the social relations among men, which in turn are derived from the economic mode of producing a social system's material goods. However, social creations existing in the superstructure are often potent enough to react upon the base, especially in the case of scientific discoveries.

In 1894, Engels wrote, "Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic base. It is not that the economic position is the *cause* and *alone active*, while everything else has only a passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself."

As in the Marxist notion of human freedom, it is a kind of conditioning

By Alan Wald





ART IN THE SERVICE OF THE BUREAUCRACY: THE STALINIST SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY IS ILLUSTRATED IN **LENIN'S ARRIVAL AT PETROGRAD, 1917**, PAINTED IN 1937 BY V. SEROV. NOTICE THE FIGURE WITH LIGHT MYSTERIOUSLY EMINATING FROM HIS FACE, STANDING BEHIND LENIN. IT IS STALIN, WHO HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT. "SOCIALIST REALISM" WAS CAPABLE OF PRODUCING SUCH TAWDRY WORKS AS **STALIN, MOLOTOV AND CHILDREN** BY EFANOV, 1947. THE TRADITION IS CONTINUED IN **CHAIRMAN MAO AMONG THE MASSES** BY AOU YI-MIN, CHOUING-CHAO AND TENG SHU.



or *limiting of possibilities* rather than a strict *determinism* that defines the nature of art.

"Men make their history themselves," Engels wrote, "only in given surroundings which condition it and on the basis of actual relations already existing, among which the economic relations, however much they may be influenced by the other political and ideological ones, are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the red thread which runs through them and alone leads to understanding."

There are certain things art *can not be*—the most important impossibility is being *unrelated* to social and physical realities.

To the Marxist the notion of "art for art's sake" is not only incorrect, it is absurd! Man is a product of the diverse elements interacting in his environment, including his own knowledge of history; and art is a product of man both at odds and in communion with his environment, but never oblivious or apart from it.

The second distinguishing characteristic of the Marxist method is the realization that art is "time-conditioned" — it has served various functions throughout history. Some of these functions are transient. Others are enduring; they are inherent in the act of artistic creation. Each of these two aspects contains a host of multiplicities within it-

self. In the *Necessity of Art*, Austrian Marxist critic Ernst Fischer writes, "The *raison d'être* of art never stays entirely the same. The function of art in a class society at war within itself differs in many respects from its original function. But nevertheless, there is something in art that expresses an unchanging truth."

Because art appears in the context of class relations, art in itself can never precipitate a change in class relations—which is a profoundly economic struggle. Moreover, it is unrealistic to expect a thoroughly revolutionary new form of art—or attitudes toward art—in a country like Cuba where the class structure is still in transition. The whole concept of "proletarian culture" as an intentional art form is simply unMarxist. As Trotsky wrote, "It is fundamentally incorrect to contrast bourgeois culture and bourgeois art with proletarian culture and proletarian art. The latter will never exist because the proletarian regime is temporary and transient. The historical significance and moral grandeur of the proletarian revolution consists in the fact that it is laying the foundations of a culture which is above classes and which will be the first culture that is truly human."

It is necessary to have not only realistic expectations for art in a revolutionary society, but also an understanding that conservative or even politically

reactionary art is not *in itself* necessarily esthetically invalid or even a danger to the revolutionary movement. What is important is the *context* in which the art appears. If an artistic movement is the expression of, or a rallying point for a potentially dangerous counterrevolutionary grouping, then denunciation or suppression is a political necessity, not an esthetic judgment. As Trotsky pointed out, since revolutionaries would not hesitate to destroy a museum or work of art if this became a military necessity in the struggle for world socialism, revolutionaries would not hesitate to suppress a work of literature if it similarly constituted a dangerous threat.

The Marxist approach to cultural analysis and appreciation must not be confused with directly political tasks such as propaganda. Literature and art can provide great insights into the development of history and human consciousness, regardless of the creator's class origin or personal politics. Georg Lukacs, the Hungarian Marxist, proposes that art is an explorer of social realities, and a great work of art is one which poses questions that truly speak for the age. This kind of approach—as opposed to crude notions of a "socialist art"—is part of the true tradition and scientific method of Marxism.



"While there is something uncomfortable about the dissimilarity of the articles included, they all relate to one or another aspect of the class struggle since October."

**50 YEARS OF WORLD REVOLUTION**, Edited by Ernest Mandel. Merit, New York, 1968. \$7.95 cloth. \$2.45 paper.

The socialist revolution ceased to be only an idea in 1917 when the Russian workers led by the Bolsheviks proved that capitalism could be overthrown and ushered in a new stage of human history. In celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of that momentous turning point, Merit Publishers issued a collection of fifteen essays, edited and with an introduction by Ernest Mandel, *Fifty Years of World Revolution, 1917-1967: An International Symposium*.

The book is an enigma, both from the reader's and the reviewer's standpoint; the main element unifying the different contributions is that they are bound together under a single cover. Most of the articles are excellent, but they are strikingly disparate in scope and subject. There is also a broad range in form and style from more scholarly, extensively footnoted articles to more journalistic pieces without a single footnote.

Perhaps this diversity or variety is an asset and not a drawback, but it makes the task of regarding the book as a whole somewhat difficult. Some of the essays deal with particular struggles, such as Georg Jungclas' treatment of the rise of German fascism or Nahuel Moreno's examination of the Chinese and Indochinese revolutions; some deal with one aspect of a particular struggle, such as Georg Breiman's article on the national question and the black liberation struggle in

the U.S.; some treat slightly broader topics, such as Sitaram B. Kolpe's piece on the Third World and the myth of a neutral bloc or Ross Dowson's contribution on the rise and decline of the Comintern; others are devoted to even more general ideas or principles, such as Joseph Hansen's "Is Marxism-Leninism Obsolete?" or Pierre Frank's "Necessity and Objective Roots of Proletarian Internationalism."

However, while there is something uncomfortable about the dissimilarity of the articles included, one can justify the placing of any of them under the collection's title, since they all do relate to one or another aspect of the class struggle during the fifty years following October. The divergence would undoubtedly be far less bothersome if it were not for another kind of unevenness which manifests itself most boldly in Moreno's article, but which also appears in "The Cuban Revolution and Its Lessons" by Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso.

Moreno introduces his own peculiar view of the Third Chinese Revolution and its "class dynamic." According to Moreno, capitalism had created a giant reserve army of uprooted peasants which could not realize its potential because of the lack of industrial development. These peasants, he says, should be defined according to their dynamic and not their past. "They are potential workers who become a vehicle of socialist revolution. Thus a historical leap occurred.

"Instead of going through the phases traversed by their brothers in the West—from landless peasants to workers 'in themselves' in manufacturing and the factories to workers 'for themselves' in the trade unions or workers' parties—

they skipped over the stage of being factory workers 'in themselves'. . . ."

In addition to these innovations about poor peasants being potential workers and leapfrogging into another social class, Moreno offers his unique view of the Chinese regime as a Bonapartist dictatorship, one that "was revolutionary, however, not counterrevolutionary like the Stalinist one." Moreno's is the only article dealing directly with the major phenomenon of the Third Chinese Revolution, and, as such, makes the collection weak on this important subject.

While the weaknesses of Moscoso's article are not so severe, they also serve to detract from the collection as a whole, since his is the only article dealing directly with the Cuban Revolution. In drawing the lessons from the Cuban experience, Moscoso says, "In the prevailing conditions in Latin America, the results achieved by the guerrillas in Cuba can be realized in any country. Therefore, I say that guerrilla warfare is incontrovertibly the road revolutionaries must take to liberate their peoples from capitalist and imperialist exploitation."

Moscoso then goes on to nod to the need for mass mobilizations and a revolutionary party, affirming that it would be a mistake for the guerrillas "to isolate themselves from the urban masses." No sooner has he finished stating that—which is not too powerfully convincing in the first place, tacked on as it is to the tail end of his glorification of guerrilla struggle—than he goes on in his discussion of the role of a revolutionary party to state that the Cuban experience "can be repeated in any country where the workers and Communist parties prove unable to take the leadership of

—By Lee Smith





## Read the Militant

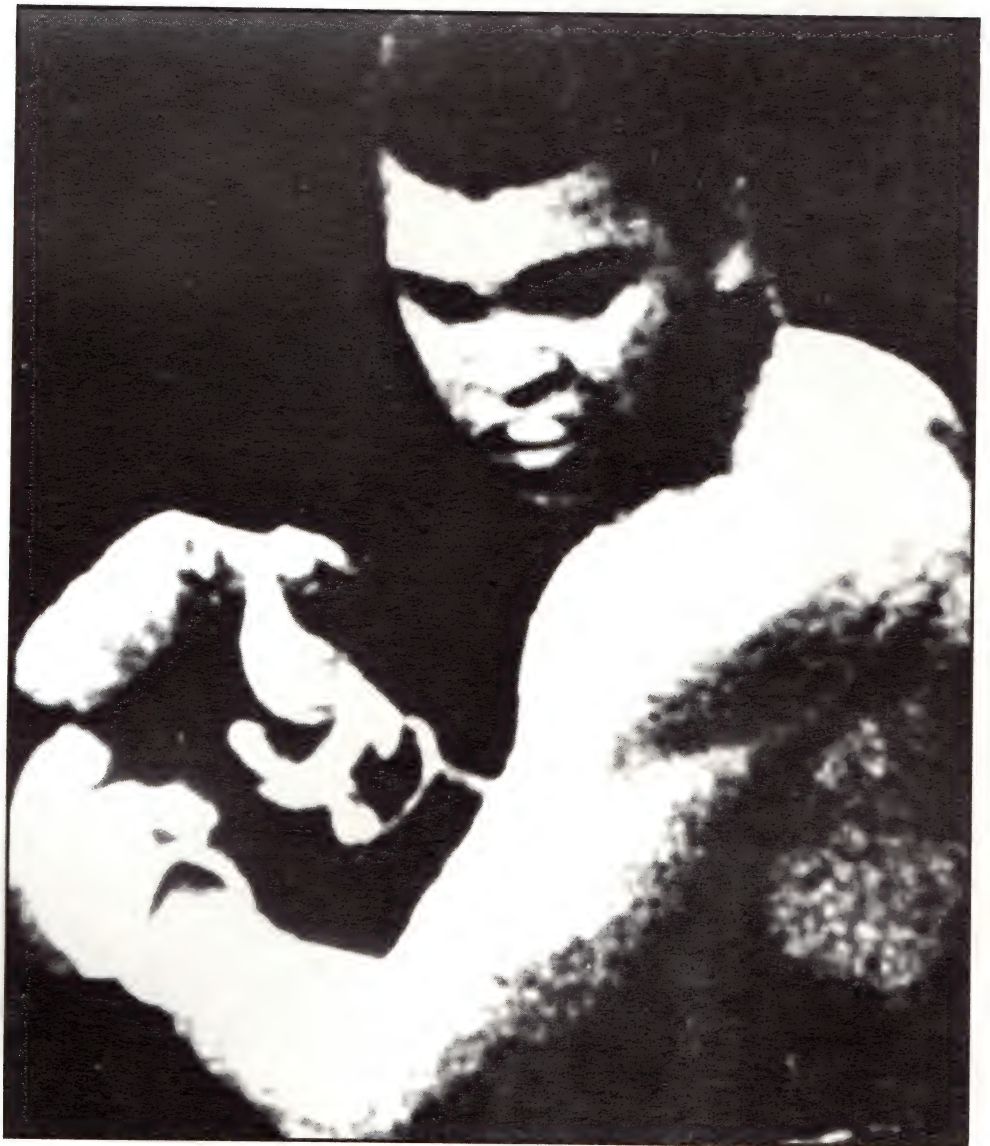
FOR A WEEK BY WEEK ACCOUNT OF WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE ANTI-WAR, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, BLACK AND CHICANO MOVEMENTS, TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER TO NEW READERS. SEND \$1.00 TO: THE MILITANT, 873 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003.

the masses . . . It is elementary that if a Marxist party does not play its historical role, new political forces will move into its place. To think otherwise would be to fall into mechanical determinism or Messianism."

Quite the opposite, to think that alternative leadership will develop in the case of bureaucratized workers' parties the way air rushes in to fill a vacuum would be to fall into a mechanical determinism. To think otherwise, that it is a crucial, demanding and drawn-out task to construct an alternative leadership would be, not Messianism, but Leninism!

Moscoso is right in calling attention to the fact that in Cuba the Rebel Army substituted itself for the party, but he leaps to generalizations from that experience with too much haste. The main mistake the Cubans themselves have made in attempting to extend their revolution to the rest of the continent is overreliance on the tactic of guerrilla warfare as a panacea and underestimation of the importance of building mass revolutionary parties to struggle and mobilize the masses of workers in the cities around a program.

Despite the shortcomings in Moscoso's and Moreno's contributions, and despite the general unevenness and disparity between the various articles, the book is a valuable one for revolutionists to read. There is no particular virtue in proceeding through the book in the order the articles appear, but every one of them is well worth serious attention.



MUHAMMED ALI IN SCENE FROM DOCUMENTARY FILM BY WILLIAM KLEIN.



**"America doesn't mind you doing anything, as long as you're grateful."**

## **FLOAT LIKE A BUTTERFLY, STING LIKE A BEE.**

**Documentary by William Klein.**

**Produced by Grove Press and Alvin Ferleger.**

Rarely have documentary films been made about such flamboyant characters as Cassius Clay. And rarely are they as entertaining.

*Float Like a Butterfly, Sting Like a Bee* is just now being released in the United States, more than four years after it was made by William Klein, an American photographer-screenplay writer living in Paris. It presents a kaleidoscopic view of Clay during the time of his two fights with Sonny Liston in 1964. We see him horsing around with the Beatles, training, fighting, trying to psyche out Liston at the weigh-in, fielding arrogantly ignorant questions from (white) reporters ("I don't believe in forced integration. It won't work. But now that I've figured that out it's got you all worried."), and, in his inimitable style, hamming it up before the camera and whomever happens to be around. Klein's favorite camera technique throughout all this is the close-up, which, though a bit overworked, generally adds to the movement and energy of the film.

*Float Like a Butterfly* is not just entertaining, however. What it really attempts to do is convey an appreciation of Clay as a social phenomenon in the mid-sixties—at the beginning of the rapid growth of black consciousness which is still going on.

Klein accomplishes this through candid scenes of black youth imitating Cassius ("Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee—every world champ should be beautiful like me!") and of Harlem teenagers in a Haryou project acting out their interpretation of "Cassius Clay." Most revealing, though, are the interviews—some of them brilliant, all of them interesting—which Klein sprinkles throughout the film.

In one of these, a member of the Louisville Syndicate of distillers, tobacco merchants and other assorted millionaires that sponsored Clay describes the magnanimity with which Clay was promoted: "His mother was the cook of my brother's first double cousin. My mother's family was Clay, same as Cassius." After claiming to give to charitable foundations the profits Clay brought him, he calls Clay "a little ungrateful" for being so cocky when he never would have had a chance in the first place if it hadn't been for the generosity of the syndicate.

Clay may have been created by the syndicate, but he also became its Frankenstein. Never, perhaps, had sports pages been so interesting as in the mid-sixties when sports writers described his flashy attempts to psyche out white America ("I'm the prettiest, the greatest, and the best poet of them all!"). All this gaudy arrogance might have been tolerable for white America except for the fact that, as the black Morehouse professor points out, "America doesn't mind you doing anything, as long as you're grateful." And Clay was anything

but grateful. For the syndicate, the trouble with him was that he was "the independent hipster, the jazzman turned boxer—that's Cassius Clay."

One of the most perceptive sections of *Float Like a Butterfly*, and certainly a political high point, is the interview with Malcolm X. For Malcolm, Clay's significance lay in the fact that although he was created by white business interests, he ignored them, broke loose from them and went beyond them. He floated like a butterfly and he stang like a bee. He was the "opposite of everything that was representative of the Negro image. He said he was the greatest. And he was."

What made Clay so popular with not only Afro-Americans but black people the world over was his brash pride in being black and his injection of that content into an industry where the black performer was supposed to be satisfied with entertaining whitey. Clay was not satisfied.

Sooner or later all this was bound to lead to a confrontation with the white establishment, Malcolm predicts, because it could expect to have "trouble out of all these Negroes walking around the streets saying, 'I'm the greatest.'"

Yet, despite his remarkable charismatic impact on the black community, which this film so well depicts, Cassius Clay was unable to mold it into a tool for liberation. "To be in Cassius' position, with the whole world watching him," says Malcolm, "and not be able to use it effectively—to me that is the real tragedy."

**—By David Thorstad**



"The play deals with the 'problem' of how to 'construct' a woman so that she can most efficiently carry out the tasks assigned to her by society."

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**HOW TO MAKE A WOMAN.**  
By Bobbi and Stan Edelson.  
The Caravan Theater. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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William Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, formulated the role of the theater in society as follows: "To hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." It is doubtful that this formulation has been improved upon since.

But in a "culture" where art must compete in the marketplace; where art and the artist pander to the "taste" of the society's more affluent and moribund layers, the theater rarely lives up to Shakespeare's criteria.

Any commercial production that attempts to deal seriously with the problems of modern America—even from a reformist viewpoint—is patronizingly labelled a "protest play" or "social commentary" and usually ends up a tax write-off for its investors; that is, of course, unless its characters appear nude on stage, in which case many of our genteel theater patrons find it possible to excuse the "imposition" of a political "message." (One notable exception was *MacBird* which was successful both artistically and financially, in spite of the fact that its producers had difficulty in renting a theater due to the play's political content. Later the "authorities" tried to close it down for "violation of fire regulations.")

Generally speaking, then, the "seeker after truth" must journey to the out-of-the-way places, to "off-off Broadway" and beyond, where the dedicated few work without pay after their nine-to-five stints at wage slavery.

One such troupe is the Caravan Theatre of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a "radical theater" company which includes in its repertory an original work entitled *How to Make a Woman*.

The casual reader might conclude by this title that the play is a course in sex techniques for the apprentice male chauvinist. Quite the contrary. Rather, the play deals, in caustic satire, with the "problem" of how to "construct" a woman, so that she can most efficiently carry out the tasks assigned to her by society.

The play begins innocently enough, with two perfectly normal (read: unliberated) women (played by Barbara Fleischmann and Aili Singer) and their sojourn in an ordinary dress shop, in search, interestingly enough, of dresses.

But in a system which treats women not as individuals, but as a manipulable market, as sexual playmates, or as mothers, this task is more problematic than our heroines might have imagined. They find that their own taste and preferences, their own individuality, are irrelevant. For fashions are designed to make women attractive to men. *How to Make a Woman* carries this premise to its logical conclusion: the ultimate fashion for the mass market in our society consists of nothing more than an enormous set of falsies.

But the Caravan players are by no means content having left the fashion

industry in tatters. They are merciless in their treatment of the most sacred of bourgeois institutions, among them marriage, child-raising, the family.

In one scene, a flashback, Aili recounts her experiences with marriage. After their first time in bed together, Husband proclaims to Wife that he has "opened up a whole new world of instinctual pleasures" to her. But she is soon to complain that her husband, everyday commuter variety, has "put me in the refrigerator next to the frozen peas." She finds herself left alone, day after day, with the task of cleaning their Little White Cottage. Attempting to reconcile herself she exclaims, "he can't have children, he can't give birth, he can't have *that* joy!" Shortly thereafter our model homemaker has a child (She: "It's a girl!"; He: "Oh, shit!").

In another scene Mary recalls her childhood training, the root of her present problems. Mother inculcates into little Mary the proper regard for bourgeois institutions by slapping her hand as she admonishes, "Respect! Respect! Respect!" Mary's aberration at age 5, you see, was in smearing herself with blueberry pie—such indulgence in carnal desire being inconsistent with the role which Mary, as a woman, will be assigned to play.

The success of *How to Make a Woman* is largely a result of the effective integration of techniques developed by Jerzy Gradowski, world-renowned artistic director of the Polish Laboratory Theater in Warsaw.

These techniques, best described as semi-acrobatic physicalization, form the framework for the play's sparse dialogue. In one hilariously satiric scene,

—By Karl Berman



for instance, the actors physically "construct" the "perfect" woman. Another of the production's high points is a contest for "the World's Most Perfectly Trained Woman." (Winners are selected on the basis of how well they can execute posing, blowing up a balloon and smiling — simultaneously.)

*How to Make a Woman* is by no means flawless. At times the production gets bogged down in obscure and superfluous symbolism. The male characters in the play are completely one-dimensional and negative—Joseph Volpe and David Starr Klein are understandably uncomfortable playing them. Also, the projections by John Furlong, while interesting in themselves, contribute nothing to the production.

But on the whole, *How to Make a Woman* is a tremendous success. It is funny, original, political, and timely, and the company is talented. The Caravan Theatre strikes a blow for all oppressed women. We hope to have them with us in the many struggles ahead.

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The Caravan Theatre's home is at 1555 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138. They will be playing *How to Make a Woman*, in repertory with other plays, throughout the 1969-1970 season both at their theater in Cambridge, and on tour in the New England area. In the past performances on campuses have been sponsored by student groups. (All productions generally feature discussion periods — women's liberation, for instance — following the performance.) Interested persons or groups may contact the Caravan Theatre at the above address.



AILI SINGER SCREAMS OUT AGAINST HER ROLE AS THE "BIG MAMA" IN "HOW TO MAKE A WOMAN"



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